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Election '84
Report #3

Blacks and the 1984 Democratic National Convention: A Guide

Joint Center for Political Studies Washington, D.C. 1984

The Joint Center for Political Studies is a national, nonprofit tax-exempt institution that conducts research on public policy issues of special concern to black Americans and promotes informed and effective involvement of blacks in the governmental process. Founded in 1970, the Joint Center provides independent and nonpartisan analyses through research, publications, and conferences.

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FOREWORD

The Joint Center for Political Studies congratulates each of the 697 black delegates and 225 alternates to the 1984 Democratic National Convention. As 17.7 percent of the delegates and 17.0 percent of the alternates, blacks are a larger proportion of this convention than of any since 1932 and perhaps any in the party's history. This unprecedented level of involvement is just one manifestation of a recent surge in black political participation and of the continuing importance of black support for the Democratic party.

From a black perspective, the 1984 race for the Democratic party's nomination has been historic. Blacks have been more actively involved in this race than in any on record, as their representation at the convention indicates. A black candidate waged a formidable national campaign, winning nearly 20 percent of the Democratic primary votes and more than 350 committed delegates. Such extensive black involvement in the nomination process and the rapidly growing strength of blacks in the electorate give them an especially good opportunity to help shape the party's platform and influence the outcome of the election in November.

As it has since 1972, the Joint Center offers to assist delegates and alternates during the convention to facilitate their effective participation. This guidebook and roster of black delegates and alternates is one effort to help. Similar volumes have been prepared for both Democratic and Republican conventions since 1972. This volume is also the third in a series of JCPS Election 84 Reports. We hope the information it provides will prove helpful at the convention and afterward.

Blacks and the 1984 Democratic National Convention: A Guide was prepared under the supervision of Milton D. Morris, director of research, by the following members of the JCPS staff: Thomas Cavanagh, research associate; Devonda Byers, research assistant; Glenn Ivey, summer intern; and Jonathan House, office assistant. Deborah Rivers, Panola Golson, Joyce Jackson, and Naima Washington were responsible for typing the manuscript. Catherine Iino, director of publications, and Constance Toliver, editorial assistant, oversaw production.

We are grateful to Amelia Parker, director of the Office of Black Affairs of the Democratic National Committee. We also are indebted to the Aetna Life & Casualty Foundation, the Ford Foundation, and the Westinghouse Electric Corporation for their financial support of this research effort.

Eddie N. Williams
President
July 1984

1. INTRODUCTION: BLACKS AND THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN 1984

As the delegates and alternates to the Democratic National Convention assemble in San Francisco, the increasingly visible role of blacks in the Democratic Party is one of the focal points of political strategy and commentary. Not since the 1960s has the black electorate been mobilized as effectively as in the past two years. The widespread interest in black voter registration, the defeats of several conservative Republican officeholders by the heavy turnout of black voters in 1982, the elections of Chicago Mayor Harold Washington and Philadelphia Mayor Wilson Goode, and the presidential candidacy of Jesse Jackson have combined to make the black vote a vitally important factor in the 1984 campaign.

The Importance of the Black Vote

Blacks have been a bulwark of the Democratic coalition throughout the postwar period. Indeed, blacks are the most Democratic voting bloc in the electorate, usually giving 85 percent or more of their votes to Democratic presidential candidates. In the last four presidential elections, blacks have contributed between 19 and 22 percent of the votes cast nationwide for the Democratic presidential candidate. The opposition of much of the black community to the economic, civil rights, and foreign policies of the Reagan administration has only aggravated the Republicans' recent problems in attracting black support.

It is now well established that the 1980s are witnessing a major rise in black voter registration and turnout. Grass-roots mobilization efforts added almost 600,000 blacks to the nation's voter registration rolls between 1980 and 1982, and as many as 2 million more blacks may register by November 1984. Black voter turnout surged by 5.8 percent in the 1982 congressional elections over the 1978 level, helping to swell the ranks of black elected officials by 8.6 percent--from 5,160 to 5,606--between 1982 and 1983. This was the biggest one-year increase since 1976, and it suggests that the registration efforts under way this year may pay significant dividends in the form of additional black state legislators, mayors, and city council members--officeholders who could go on to even more prominent positions in the future.

The black registration gains have focused attention on the pivotal position of the black electorate. As of November 1982, there were 17.8 million blacks of voting age in the United States. This represents 10.5 percent of the total voting-age population. Just over half (52.9 percent) of the black voting-age population resides in the South, while most of the remainder is concentrated in inner-city areas of the northern industrial states. Given the Republican dominance in the western states, these are precisely the states likely to be most closely contested in the 1984 presidential election. Moreover, the Republicans have won a majority of the white vote in every presidential election since 1968. In sum, a Democratic presidential victory in 1984 is inconceivable without a high black turnout and a large Democratic share of the black vote in the Northern cities and the South.

There were 11 states--with a total of 134 electoral votes--in which the number of unregistered potential black voters exceeded President Reagan's 1980 margin of victory. In several of these states, a small increase in black voter registration could be sufficient to shift the state from the Republican to the Democratic column in the Electoral College. For example, there were close to 1 million unregistered blacks in New York alone, where Reagan won in 1980 by only 165,469 votes. North Carolina, which had the nation's lowest black registration rate (43.6 percent) in 1980, was carried by Reagan by only 39,383 votes, and this year will also be the scene of a closely fought Senate race between Republican incumbent Jesse Helms and Democratic Governor James Hunt. The black vote may have a bearing on the electoral fates of Republican Senators Thad Cochran of Mississippi and Charles Percy in Illinois, as well as on the outcome of contests for open Senate seats in Tennessee and Texas. Thus, Republican control of the Senate could also hinge on the success of black voter mobilization in 1984.

Because the black vote is so crucial to Democratic prospects this year, black leaders have been eager to play a more influential role in Democratic party affairs. For many years, blacks have complained that "one party writes us off, while the other party takes us for granted." Many blacks have been dissatisfied with the ineffectual opposition mounted by congressional Democrats to some of the Reagan administration's policy initiatives. These factors led Jesse Jackson to call on blacks to "renegotiate their compact with the Democratic party."

The most significant vehicle for increasing black clout within the party has been Jackson's own campaign. Jackson's total of 384 delegates at press time makes him by far the most successful black presidential candidate in the nation's history. (The only significant previous black presidential campaign, that of Shirley Chisholm in 1972, garnered 152 delegate votes.) According to Congressional Quarterly, he won about 18.3 percent of all the votes cast in the Democratic primaries, and swept the black vote by landslide showings of 75 percent or more in virtually all of the primaries and caucuses from March 20 on.

In part because of the Jackson campaign's achievements, the black delegate contingent at this year's convention will total 697, an all-time record. The black delegates represent 17.7 percent of the total convention delegates. In addition to Jackson's 305 black delegates, there are 208 supporting Mondale, 70 for Hart, 29 for Harold Washington, 1 for George McGovern, and another 84 who are uncommitted. In contrast to previous years, which have seen contentious credential challenges based on underrepresentation of blacks and women, there were no minority reports on credentials filed this year.

Reforming the Rules for 1988

Another tangible result of the Jackson campaign, working in concert with the Hart campaign, is the report of the Rules Committee. The report calls for the establishment of a "fairness commission" to study the rules governing the 1988 delegate selection process. The commission proposal was a response to criticism by both Jackson and Hart that the 1984 rules unfairly advantaged a mainstream front-runner like Mondale at the expense of "outsider" candidates.

Under the terms of the Rules Committee report, "the Commission to review the party's delegate selection process shall be guided by the provisions of this resolution. . . . The recommendations would be improvements over the present delegate selection process, and as such, the direction of those recommendations should not be reversed." The original draft read that the Rules Committee's recommendations "shall not be reversed," which would have made them binding on the reform commission. The language was amended at the insistence of the Jackson forces, which did not want to see the Rules Committee guidelines made binding because of the possibility that even broader changes might be approved by the "fairness commission." Thus, the Rules Committee guidelines have the status of a nonbinding directive to the reform commission.

The directive consists of two parts. The first set of recommendations was drafted by the Hart campaign, and includes the following provisions:

1. Reducing the threshold (or minimum precentage of the vote required for delegate representation) from 20 to 15 percent both within congressional districts and at the at-large level;
2. Reducing the number of unpledged party and elected official delegates by more than half, and prohibiting their selection until April of the primary season;
3. Mandating that all states in the first half of the primary schedule allocate their delegates on the basis of the proportion of the vote the candidates receive, and prohibiting both winner-take-all by congressional district and "bonus delegate" plans (which award an extra delegate to the winner of each congressional district);
4. Requiring that filing deadlines for delegate slates be no more than 30 days in advance of a primary or caucus; and
5. Prohibiting caucus rules that discourage participation, such as the two-stage primary and caucus

The second set of recommendations was drafted by the Jackson campaign, and mandates that the reform commission study the following proposed changes:
1. Abolishing the caucus system altogether, in effect requiring the use of primaries in all states and territories;
2. Eliminating the category of unpledged party and elected official delegates;
3. Establishing a system of complete proportionality in translating vote totals into delegate totals, in effect abolishing bonus delegate and winner-take-all plans; and
4. Requiring "assured percentages" of delegates for women, minorities, and other disadvantaged groups.

There are no minority reports to the Rules Committee report. Assuming that the full convention passes the Rules Committee report, the Democratic National Committee will establish a new reform commission after the 1984 election. The commission will probably hold its deliberations in 1985 and 1986, and the Democratic National Committee will probably vote on its recommendations for 1988 delegate selection rules in early 1987. Black political activists should pay close attention to the work of the reform commission over the next two years.

2. GENERAL FACT SHEET

CONVENTION SITE:	Moscone Center Howard & 3rd Sts. San Francisco, CA 94103 (415) 974-4000
DNC HEADQUARTERS	San Francisco Hilton and Tower 333 O'Farrell St. San Francisco, CA 94102 (415) 771-1400
DATES:	July 16, 1984 through July 19, 1984
CANDIDATE HEADQUARTERS:	Mondale Campaign: Meridian Hotel 53rd St. San Francisco, CA 94103 (415) 974-6400 Hart Campaign: Westin St. Francis Union Square San Francisco, CA 94119 (415) 397-7000 Jackson Campaign: Hyatt (Union Square) 345 Stockton Street San Francisco, CA 94108 (415) 398-1234
NUMBER OF DELEGATES	3,933 delegates and 1,313 alternates
NUMBER OF VOTES REQUIRED FOR NOMINATION	A simple majority of one more than half (1,967)
HOW DELEGATES ARE CHOSEN	In primary elections; by party caucuses and conventions; or by a combination of the two. Party rules require that as nearly as possible each state's delegation be divided equally between men and women and that minorities, youth, and the elderly be equitably represented.

3. HOTEL ASSIGNMENTS OF STATE DELEGATIONS

STATE	HOTEL
Alabama	Sir Francis Drake 450 Powell St. at Sutter
American Samoa	Stewart Hotel 351 Geary St.
Alaska	San Franciscan 1231 Market St. at Civic Center
Arizona	Ramada Inn (Fisherman's Wharf) 590 Bay St. at Jones
Arkansas	The Bedford Hotel 761 Post St.
Calif.	Westin St. Francis Hotel Union Square
Colorado	Holiday Inn (Convention Center) 50 Eighth St.
Conn.	TraveLodge (Fisherman's Wharf) 250 Beach St.
Delaware	Westin Miyako 1625 Post St.
D.C.	California Hotel 405 Taylor & O'Farrell St.
Florida	Cathedral Hill 1101 Van Ness Ave.
Georgia	Four Seasons Hotel 495 Geary St. at Taylor
Guam	Sir Francis Drake Hotel 450 Powell St. at Sutter
Hawaii	Bellevue Hotel 505 Geary St. & Taylor
Idaho	Stewart Hotel 351 Geary St.
Illinois	Hyatt Regency (Oakland) 455 Hegenberger Rd.
Indiana	Claremont Resort (Oakland) Domingo at Ashby Ave.
Iowa	San Franciscan 1231 Market St. at Civic Center
Kansas	Hyatt on Union Square 345 Stockton St.
Kentucky	San Franciscan 1231 Market St. at Civic Center
Latin America	Holiday Inn (Convention Center) 50 Eighth St.
Louisiana	Bellevue Hotel 505 Geary St. & Taylor
Maine	Carleton 1075 Sutter St.
Maryland	Marriott (Fisherman's Wharf) 1280 Columbus Ave.
Mass.	Holiday Inn (Financial District) 750 Kearny St.
Michigan	Meridian Hotel 53rd St.
Minnesota	Holiday Inn (Financial District) 750 Kearny St.
Miss.	Mark Twain Hotel 345 Taylor St.
Missouri	Sir Francis Drake Hotel 450 Powell St. at Sutter
Montana	Cathedral Hill 1101 Van Ness Ave.
Nebraska	Quality Inn Hotel 2775 Van Ness Ave.

STATE	HOTEL
Nevada	Kyoto Inn Sutter and Buchanan Sts.
N.H.	Sir Francis Drake Hotel 450 Powell St. at Sutter
N.J.	Holiday Inn (Fisherman's Wharf) 1300 Columbus Ave.
N. Mex.	Holiday Inn (Fisherman's Wharf) 1300 Columbus Ave.
New York	Hyatt Regency 5 Embarcadero Center
N.C.	Holiday Inn (Union Square) 480 Sutter St. at Powell
N. Dakota	Holiday Inn (Convention Center) 50 Eighth St.
Ohio	Hyatt on Union Square 345 Stockton St.
Oklahoma	Vagabond 2550 Van Ness Avenue
Oregon	Canterbury Hotel 750 Sutter St.
Pa.	Sheraton Palace 639 Market St.
Puerto Rico	Westin Miyako 1625 Post St.
R.I.	Grosvenor Inn (Convention Center) 1050 Van Ness Ave.
S.C.	Holiday Inn (Golden Gateway) 1500 Van Ness Ave.
S. Dakota	Ramada Inn (Fisherman's Wharf) 590 Bay St. at Jones
Tennessee	Holiday Inn (Union Square) 480 Sutter St. at Powell

STATE	HOTEL
Texas	Sheraton (Fisherman's Wharf) 2500 Mason St.
Utah	Hotel Union Square 114 Powell St.
Vermont	San Franciscan 1231 Market St. at Civic Center
Virgin Islands	Manx Hotel 225 Powell St. at Union Square
Virginia	California Hotel 405 Taylor & O'Farrell Sts.
Wash.	Pickwick 85 Fifth St.
W.Va.	Pacific Plaza 501 Post & Mason Sts.
Wisconsin	Hyatt Regency 5 Embarcadero Center
Wyoming	Sheraton Palace 639 Market St.
Democrats Abroad	Holiday Inn (Fisherman's Wharf) 1300 Columbus Ave.

4. CONVENTION CALENDAR

The Democratic National Convention will officially open on Monday, July 16, 1984, at 3:00 p.m. and will continue through Thursday evening, July 19, when nominees for Vice President and President deliver their acceptance speeches. Sessions of the convention will be held from 3:00 p.m. to 8:00 p.m. at the Moscone Center.

A variety of special events and caucuses are also planned during the convention--before and after the official sessions. Some of these, which may be of particular interest to you, are listed below. Others will be announced during the convention.

Monday, July 16

8:30 a.m.	DNC Black Caucus Press Conference Sheraton Palace - Regency Room
9:00 a.m.	Black Delegates' Breakfast Sheraton Palace - Ralston Room
3:00 p.m. - 8:00 p.m.	1984 Democratic Convention Opening Session Opening Ceremonies Credentials Committee Report Rules Committee Report DNC Treasurer's Report DNC Finance Chair's Report Welcoming Remarks by San Francisco Mayor Diane Feinstein Chairman's Report Speech by Permanent Convention Chair, Kentucky Governor Martha Layne Collins Speech by Former President Jimmy Carter Keynote Address by New York Governor Mario Cuomo
8:00 p.m.	"Oh What a Night" Reception (by invitation) San Francisco Pier 45 Host: Speaker of the California State Assembly Willie Brown

Tuesday, July 17

11:00 a.m. - 12:00 noon	Black Delegates Meeting, Issues Session (presidential candidates invited) Sheraton Palace - Grand Ballroom
3:00 p.m. - 8:00 p.m.	1984 Democratic Convention Session Opening Ceremonies Thematic Film Presentation Report of the Platform Committee Speech by Jesse Jackson Speeches on Minority Reports Debate on Platform Committee Report Film

9:00 p.m. - 11:00 p.m.	Reception Sheraton Palace - Gold Room Host: D.C. Mayor Marion Barry
11:30 p.m.	Black Delegates' VIP Reception (by invitation) Sheraton Palace Hotel - Garden Court Host: Democratic National Committee

Wednesday, July 18

8:30 a.m.	Voter Registration Fund-Raising Breakfast Meridian Hotel
9:00 a.m. - 10:30 a.m.	Black and Hispanic Delegates' Breakfast (honoring black and Hispanic members of Congress) Sheraton Palace - Ralston Room
11:00 a.m. - 12 noon	Black Delegates' Meeting - Nomination Process Briefing Sheraton Palace - Ralston Room
3:00 p.m. - 8:00 p.m.	1984 Democratic Convention Session Opening Ceremonies Speech by Senator Gary Hart Nominating Speeches for Presidential Candidates Roll Call for Presidential Nomination

Thursday, July 19

9:30 a.m. -11:00 a.m.	Brunch for Women of Color Ferry Plaza Restaurant
1:00 p.m.	Black Women Delegates' Caucus and Press Conference Sheraton Palace
3:00 p.m. - 8:00 p.m.	1984 Democratic Convention Session Opening Ceremonies Nominating Speeches for Vice Presidential Candidates Roll Call for Vice Presidential Nomination Vice Presidential Acceptance Speech Presidential Acceptance Speech Adjournment
9:30 p.m. - 12:00 a.m.	Congressman Mickey Leland's Reception (by invitation) Ferry Boat Santa Rosa, Pier #3

Friday, July 20

10:00 a.m. - 12:00 noon	Democratic National Committee Meeting

5. BLACK MEMBERS OF THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE

The Democratic National Committee has 377 members, 49 of whom are black. There is a Black Caucus of the Democratic National Committee, headed by:

Mickey Leland	Chairperson
C. Deloris Tucker	Vice-Chairperson
Helen Marshall	Secretary
Roland Burris	Treasurer

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6. BLACK MEMBERS OF STANDING COMMITTEES OF THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION

There are three standing committees of the Democratic National Convention: the Credentials Committee, the Rules Committee, and the Platform Committee. Each has about 185 members.

Black Members of the Credentials Committee

Marilyn Anderson-Chase
47 Hutchings Street
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Marvin Arrington
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7. HIGHLIGHTS OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY PLATFORM

The 1984 party platform will be presented to the Democratic National Convention on Tuesday, July 17. There are five minority reports--that is, proposed amendments to the platform. Each minority report will be discussed and voted on in turn; then the entire platform will be put to a voice vote. Jesse Jackson is expected to speak to the convention on Tuesday in favor of his proposed platform plank on the runoff primary (Minority Report Number 2).

This year's platform represents an interesting departure from the last several Democratic platforms. There are few specific budget or legislative recommendations. Instead, the platform focuses on Democratic opposition to the Reagan administration's policies, on restoring programs and executive agencies' policies to their pre-1980 status, and on committing the party to certain broad ideological positions.

Yet there are enough specifics in the platform to keep most Democrats happy--and to spark some controversy as well. The following is a synopsis of positions on issues of particular interest to black delegates. The minority reports are discussed at the end of this section.

DRAFT PLATFORM

I. GROWTH AND PROSPERITY

Fiscal Policy

The platform attacks the Reagan administration for its tax cuts, which it says helped "the favored few," and for the federal budget deficit. The platform proposes to reduce the deficit by controlling costs in defense and health care.

In addition, the Democrats advocate legislation for an "adequate and fair" tax system by "broadening the tax base, simplifying the tax code, and eliminating unproductive deductions."

Industrial Policy

The platform proposes an "Economic Cooperation Council" composed of representatives from business, labor, and government to improve productivity and American competitiveness in world markets. It recommends the use of "industry-wide agreements" and "appropriate financing mechanisms" to assist declining industries. While the platform encourages foreign auto makers "to invest here and create jobs where their markets are," it stops short of endorsing the controversial domestic content bill, which would require that all foreign-made autos include a certain percentage of American-made parts. The domestic content provision was strongly backed by labor unions and endorsed by Walter Mondale but was strongly opposed by Gary Hart.

Jobs and Unemployment

The thrust of the employment policies is a commitment to employ all Americans who want a job. The platform states that unemployment among minority teenagers will receive special attention and calls for meaningful job training for students, for housewives returning to the workplace, for women who receive public assistance, and for workers displaced by economic change. Specific proposals include the following:

- develop a comprehensive national manpower skills development policy targeted at the unemployed and underemployed;
- overhaul the current unemployment compensation program;
- provide adequate funding for job-search listings programs;
- examine new approaches to training and retraining programs that could be financed directly by government, by labor and management, or by tax-free contributions;
- require companies to give advance notification of plant closings or large-scale layoffs in order to facilitate workers' transitions.

It should be noted that the 1984 platform--in contrast to the 1980 platform or Jackson's "New Directions" platform--does not specifically endorse compliance with the Hawkins-Humphrey Act, although there is "a commitment to full employment."

Minority Business Policy

The platform calls for increasing government procurement opportunities for small and minority firms, encouraging the deposit of federal funds in minority-owned financial institutions, and implementing all set-aside provisions for minority businesses. The Small Business Administration, Minority Business Development Administration, and other government institutions are to ensure that the needs of smaller minority businesses are met at the regional and local level.

Education

Among the education proposals covered in the draft platform, the following are particularly noteworthy:

- supplement community-based programs encouraging return to school by students who have left because of teenage parenthood, alcohol or drug abuse, or economic difficulties at home;
- emphasize training and employment opportunities for youth;
- prevent qualified students from being deprived of a college education because of financial circumstances;
- support the existence of historically black colleges and increase funding to black and Hispanic institutions;
- exclude "segregation academies" from government funding.

Unlike the 1980 platform, the 1984 platform does not take a stand on school desegregation policies such as busing. (The 1980 platform supported "the mandatory transportation of students . . . for the purpose of desegregation . . . as a judicial tool of last resort.")

Housing

The platform calls for upgrading and replenishing public housing in minority communities; creating more affordable low-income units through providing low-interest loans; enforcing fair housing standards, which prohibit discrimination in the housing market; and developing short-range emergency responses to the problem of homelessness and long-range solutions to the causes of homelessness.

Investing in People

The platform calls for restoring school breakfast and lunch programs and supplementing food programs for low-income pregnant women. Other proposals include the following:

- restore the National Sickle Cell Anemia Control Act;
- establish after-school-care programs;
- augment day-care programs;
- strengthen child abuse prevention programs;
- oppose efforts to slash Social Security;
- support lower electricity and natural gas rates for senior citizens and low-income Americans.

II. JUSTICE

Several proposals in this section aim at reversing the policies of the Reagan administration:

- return the Commission on Civil Rights to independent status and increase its funding;
- restore the strength of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) and renew the commitment of the Department of Justice and the Department of Labor to enforce civil rights laws and executive orders;
- reverse the Supreme Court's decision in the Grove City College case, which held that nondiscrimination guidelines were binding only on specific programs receiving federal funds and not the recipient institution as a whole;
- prohibit the use of federal financial assistance to subsidize invidious discrimination;
- support a well-funded and unrestricted Legal Services Corporation.

Empowerment

The platform proposes a number of measures for increasing the political influence of women and minorities, including these:

- aim to double the number of minorities and women in Congress by 1988;
- create and fund a "talent bank" of minorities and women to fill policy positions "in the next administration";

- recruit minorities and women to run for governorships and all state and local offices;
- spend maximum resources to elect women and minority candidates and offer these candidates in-kind services, such as political organizing and strategic advice;
- target the bulk of voter registration funds at registering minorities and women.

Reproductive Freedom

The platform opposes "government interference" in reproductive decisions, especially when such interference "denies poor Americans their right to privacy by funding or advocating one or a limited number of reproductive choices only." The platform supports the abortion standard set by the Supreme Court in 1973 and opposes any constitutional amendment to restrict or overturn that decision.

Immigration

The platform opposes sanctions designed to penalize employers who hire undocumented workers, because such sanctions "will inevitably increase discrimination against minority Americans." Other positions include:

- opposition to guest-worker programs;
- opposition to identification procedures that threaten civil liberties, as well as any changes that subvert "the basic principle of family unification";
- support of amnesty for undocumented immigrants with a 1982 cut-off date;
- creation of an international body on immigration, to address economic development problems in Mexico and other Latin American countries, which contribute to unauthorized immigration.

Equal Rights for Women

According to the platform, a "top priority" of a Democratic administration would be the ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment as originally passed by Congress. The platform calls for "equal pay for equal work and equal pay for work of comparable worth," and pledges that every step will be taken to close the wage gap between men and women.

Crime

The platform proposes:

- "tough restraints on the manufacture, transportation, and sale of snub-nosed handguns, which have no legitimate sporting use and are used in a high proportion of violent crimes";
- sentencing reforms that routinely include monetary or other forms of restitution to victims.

Advisory Committees

The platform calls for the Democratic party nominee "upon election" to establish the following national advisory committees to the president and the national Democratic party: civil rights and justice; fair housing; affirmative action; equal rights for women; rights for workers; immigration policy; and voting rights.

Affirmative Action

The platform explicitly rejects quotas but reaffirms the "long-standing commitment to the eradication of discrimination in all aspects of American life through the use of affirmative action goals and time-tables." (See also Minority Report Number 1.)

Voting Rights

The platform calls for the elimination of "all discriminatory barriers to full voting rights." Specifically, the platform proposes funding a serious, in-depth study of practices and procedures that may be discriminatory. The party pledges to seek to eliminate those procedures and practices that the study finds to "discriminate or act to dilute votes of minority citizens," and state parties are instructed to take "positive steps" to achieve legislative or party rule changes "wherever a runoff, primary or other voting practice is found to be discriminatory." (See also Minority Report Number 2.)

III. PEACE, SECURITY, AND FREEDOM

In addition to the following planks, a plank on the use of military force has been proposed by Gary Hart (see Minority Report Number 5).

The Nuclear Arms Race

The platform calls for the United States to take the initiative in ending the arms race and to challenge the Soviets to follow suit. Specific proposals include the following:

- promptly negotiate a comprehensive, mutual, and verifiable nuclear weapons freeze;
- pursue deep reductions in nuclear arsenals;
- ban weapons in space;
- terminate production of the MX missile system and the B-1 bomber;
- negotiate a verifiable and comprehensive test ban treaty;
- seek a verifiable international ban on the production of nuclear weapons-grade material;
- "move toward" a policy of "no first use" of nuclear weapons (see also Minority Report No. 3).

Reductions in Military Spending

The platform supports an increase in military spending at a lower rate than that projected by the Reagan administration (see also Minority Report No. 4).

Middle East Policy

The platform makes strong statements on Middle East policies. It—

- opposes the sale of AWACs, Stinger missiles, or other "highly advanced weaponry to avowed enemies of Israel";
- favors moving the U.S. Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem;
- opposes "any consideration of negotiations with the Palestine Liberation Organization, unless the PLO abandons terrorism, recognizes the state of Israel, and adheres to U.N. Resolutions 242 and 338."

The platform does not discuss the prospects for a Palestinian homeland; it simply calls for "a resolution of the Palestinian issue."

Africa Policy

The platform calls for "a policy of substantial increases in humanitarian assistance, a major thrust in agricultural technology transfers, and cessation of the unfortunate tendency to hold such aid hostage to East-West confrontations or other geopolitical aims."

The platform also calls for the reversal of the Reagan administration's "constructive engagement" policy in relations with South Africa. Specific proposals include the following:

- put maximum pressure on South Africa to hasten the establishment of a democratic, unitary political system;
- enforce the 1977 U.N. arms embargo against South Africa;
- ban all new loans by U.S. business interests to the South African government and all investments and loans to the South African private sector until there is substantial progress toward full political participation of all people in South Africa;
- ban the sale or transfer of sophisticated computers and nuclear technology to South Africa, the importation of South African gold coins, and U.S. landing rights for South African air flights

The platform also calls for working toward legitimate rights of self-determination in Namibia by demanding compliance with U.N. Security Council Resolution 435--the six-year-old blueprint for Namibian independence--and imposing severe fines on U.S. companies that violate U.N. decrees prohibiting foreign exploitation of Namibian mineral wealth.

Global Debt and Development

The platform calls for recognition that "the growth and stability of the Third World depends on its ability to sell its products in international markets." It advocates sensitivity to the North/South dialogue on such issues as volatile commodity prices, inequities in the functioning of the international financial and monetary markets, and removal of barriers to the export of Third World goods.

According to the platform, the party will pursue policies for economic development, aid, and trade that meet the needs of the people of the developing world and further American interests. The next Democratic president will support development policies that meet the basic needs of the poor rather than "trickle down" approaches, which never benefit those on the bottom.

MINORITY REPORTS

The five minority reports will be presented and voted on during the convention session on Tuesday. The minority reports are proposed amendments to the Democratic platform that have been signed by 25 percent of the members of the Platform Committee.

In theory, a platform amendment can be proposed on the floor. Such a motion would be ruled out of order by the chair, but that ruling could be overridden by a two-thirds majority of the delegates. Thus, it is unlikely but not impossible to amend the platform on the floor.

Number 1. Affirmative Action
Platform: "The Party, while rejecting quotas, strongly reaffirms its long-standing commitment to the eradication of discrimination in all aspects of American life through the use of affirmative action goals and time-tables and other court-ordered remedies to overturn historic patterns of discrimination in hiring, training, promotions, contracting, and education."

Minority Report: "The party reaffirms its long-standing commitment to the eradication of discrimination in all aspects of American life through the use of affirmative action goals and time-tables to overturn historic patterns and the historic burdens of discrimination in hiring, training, promotions, federal procurement, education, and the administration of all federal programs. The Democratic Party opposes quotas which are inconsistent with the principles of our country."

Discussion: The minority report, proposed by Jackson, suggests that quotas would be permitted under some circumstances. Note the absence of a comma after the word "quotas" in the minority report, indicating that only some quotas are "inconsistent with the principles of our country."

Number 2. Voting Rights
Platform: "(T)he Democratic Party pledges to fund a serious, in-depth study of the use of second primaries and other practices throughout the nation that may discriminate against voting rights. This study shall be completed in ample time prior to the 1986 elections for the Party to act.

"The Democratic Party commits to use its full resources to eliminate any second primary, gerrymandering, at-large requirements, annexation, dual registration, dual voting or other voting practices that discriminate or act to dilute votes of minority citizens."

Minority Report: "The most basic right in a democracy is the right to vote. In the protection of this right, the Democratic Party must adopt strong measures to enforce the Voting Rights Act, including the complete elimination of the runoff primary, which is a grave impediment to the right of the vote to be counted in our political system. Other impediments to the right to vote such as at-large requirements, gerrymandering, annexation, dual registration, dual voting, and other schemes should also be eliminated in order for the empowerment of the disenfranchised and the rejected to become a reality."

Discussion: In the platform, elimination of the runoff primary and other controversial practices is contingent upon a finding by "a serious, in-depth study" that such practices discriminate against minority voters and candidates in particular instances. In the minority report, proposed by Jackson, it is taken as given that these practices (including the runoff primary) are discriminatory and should therefore be eliminated.

Number 3. Nuclear Weapons
Platform: The platform advocates "achieving a balance of conventional forces in order to reduce reliance on nuclear weapons and to permit the Atlantic Alliance to move toward the adoption of a 'no first use' policy."

Minority Report: The minority report advocates "adoption of a policy of 'no first use' of nuclear weapons."

Discussion: The minority report, proposed by Jackson, states that "no first use" would be the policy of a Democratic president, while the platform states that a Democratic president would merely "move toward" the adoption of such a policy after certain other conditions have been met.

Number 4. Defense Spending
Platform: No corresponding text. The minority report would become the last paragraph of the section on "Defense Policy."

Minority Report: "The Democratic Party understands that excessive military spending endangers our national security, just as inadequate spending does. Today, our cities look as if a war has already occurred. Tens of thousands are homeless; millions without jobs. We cannot undertake vitally needed domestic initiatives unless military spending is reduced. Defense is not at issue; we spend far more than what is required for a strong defense. By eliminating wasteful procurement policies and unnecessary weapons systems, by cutting back on our interventionary forces, by negotiating a nuclear freeze, and by ensuring that our allies--now our economic rivals--bear their fair share of the military burden, we can gain substantial real reductions in military spending over the next five years."

Discussion: The platform elsewhere commits the party to "increased spending levels" on conventional forces in Europe, without specifying an overall level of spending. The minority report, proposed by Jackson, commits the party to seeking lower military spending in absolute terms.

Number 5. Military Spending
Platform: "Notwithstanding efforts to lessen the risk of conflict, the United States must also be prepared to defend its vital interests militarily when they are threatened. However, we will not hazard American lives where our purpose is unclear, our goals are unattainable, or negotiation when feasible has been left untried."

Minority Report: "In the face of the Reagan Administration's cavalier approach to the use of military force around the world, the Democratic Party affirms its commitment to the selective, judicious use of American military power in consonance with Constitutional principles and reinforced by the War Powers Act.

"A Democratic President will be prepared to apply military force when vital American interests are threatened, particularly in the event of an attack upon the United States or its immediate allies. But he or she will not hazard American lives or engage in unilateral military involvement

- where our objectives are not clear;
- until all instruments of diplomacy and non-military leverage, as appropriate, have been exhausted;
- where our objectives threaten unacceptable costs or unreasonable levels of military force;
- where the local forces supported are not working to resolve the causes of conflict;
- where multilateral or allied options for the resolution of conflict are available.

"Further, a Democratic Administration will take all reasonable domestic action to minimize U.S. vulnerability to international instability, such as reducing Western reliance on Persian Gulf oil and other strategic resources. To this end, a Democratic Administration will implement, with our allies, a multilateral strategy for reduction of allied dependence on critical resources from volatile regions of the world."

Discussion: The minority report, proposed by Hart, details more restrictive conditions for the use of military force as an instrument of foreign policy than are proposed in the platform.

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Hon. Julian C. Dixon
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Jackson

IOWA

DELEGATES

Ms. Ethelene A. Boyd-Owens
1305 W. Hayes Court
Davenport, IA 52804
At-large
Mondale

Ms. Janice D. Lyle
1337 E. Oak Part Street
Des Moines, IA 50313
At-large
Hart

Dr. Fred W. Strickland
4910 Country Club
Des Moines, Iowa 50312
CD 4
Hart

Ms. Joy C. Lowe
130 Webster St.
Waterloo, IA 50703
Party or Elected Official
Mondale

KANSAS

DELEGATES

Ms. Minnie R. Anderson
1128 N. Grove
Wichita, KS 67214
CD 4
Mondale

Ms. Beverly Hatcher
2860 N. Fountain
Wichita, KS 67220
At-large
Mondale

Ms. Dixie Love
420 E. Eight
Liberal, KS 67901
At-large
Hart

Ms. Rosetta Dotson
509 E. Johnston
Olathe, KS 66061
Party or Elected Official
Mondale

Hon. Norman Justice
State Representative
506 Washington Blvd.
KS City, KS 66101
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

ALTERNATES

Mr. Homer Gaskin
1229 Wood
KS City, KS 66104
CD 3
Mondale

Mr. Clyde Townsend
Commissioner
612 Stewart
KS City, KS 66101
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

KENTUCKY

DELEGATES

Ms. Sarah Berry
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Lexington, KY 40508
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Ms. Cheri Bryant Hamilton
903 Southwestern Pkwy.
Louisville, KY 40211
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Mr. Reginald L. Thomas
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Mr. Paul Gray
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Paducah, KY 42001
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ALTERNATES

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LATIN AMERICA

ALTERNATES

Mr. Leroy Jackson
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CD 1
Unpledged

LOUISIANA

DELEGATES

Hon. Avery Alexander
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New Orleans, LA 70125
At-large
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Ms. Sylvia V. Armstrong
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Mr. Sherman Copelin, Jr.
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Gonzales, LA 70737
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Jackson

Hon. Johnny Jackson, Jr.
State Representative
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New Orleans, LA 70126
At-large
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2223 Deslonde St.
New Orleans, LA 70117
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Hon. Charles D. Jones
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709 Jackson St.
Monroe, LA 71201
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Ms. Mary E. Jones
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Ms. Deborah D. Morrison
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Ms. June Phillips
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Shreveport, LA 71107
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At-large
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State Central Committee
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2329 Orleans Ave.
New Orleans, LA 70119
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Jackson

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Jackson

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New Orleans, LA 70115
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Wilson, LA 70789
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MARYLAND

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ALTERNATES

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CD 5
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MASSACHUSETTS

DELEGATES

Mr. Bruce Bolling
City Councillor
State Democratic Committee Member
25 A Waban Street
Dorchester, MA 02121
At-large
Hart

Mr. Mark Andrew Carter
25 Claverly Hall
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Cambridge, MA 02142
CD 8
McGovern

Mr. Joseph Warren
State Democratic Committee Member
102 Beaumont Avenue
Newton, MA 02160
At-large
Mondale

Hon. Doris Bunte
State Representative
State Committee Member
161 Townsend Street
Dorchester, MA 02121
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Hon. Raymond A. Jordan, Jr.
State Representative
State Committee Member
51 Goldenrod Street
Springfield, MA 01109
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

ALTERNATES

Ms. Laura Spencer
State Committee Member
618 Centre Street
Box 447
Carver, MA 02353
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Mr. E. Henry Twiggs
74 Westminster Street
Springfield, MA 01109
At-large
Hart

MICHIGAN

DELEGATES

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Secretary of State
Treasury Building First Floor
Lansing, MI 48918
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Mr. Robert Battle, III
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Mr. Clyde Cleveland
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CD 1
Jackson

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CD 13
Mondale

Hon. John Conyers, Jr.
U.S. Representative
2313 Rayburn HOB
Washington, D.C. 20515
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Hon. George W. Crockett, Jr.
U.S. Representative
1531 Longworth HOB
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Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

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Hart

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At-large
Hart

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Jackson

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6218 Avery
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CD 13
Mondale

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Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Ms. Vera V. Griffith
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Detroit, MI 48208
CD 13
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Detroit, MI 48209
CD 13
Jackson

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Detroit, MI 48221
Party or Elected Official
Mondale

Mr. Dennis V. Hicks
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Bay City, MI 48706
CD 8
Hart

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State Party Second Vice Chair
4084 Glendale
Detroit, MI 48238
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Ms. Ethel M. Howard
1156 Studebaker
Ypsilanti, MI 48197
CD 15
Mondale

Mr. William Humphreys
935 Drexel
Twin Lake, Mi 49457
CD 9
Mondale

Ms. Elizabeth Jackson
17420 Pontchtrain
Detroit, MI 48203
CD 1
Mondale

Ms. Mildred A. Jenkins
18704 Fenelon
Detroit, MI 48234
CD 14
Mondale

Ms. Carolyn C. Kilpatrick
State Capitol Building
Lansing, MI 48909
At-large
Mondale

Ms. Mildred Kyles
20121 Orleans
Detroit, MI 48203
CD 1
Jackson

Mr. Ernest Lofton
20018 Lauder
Detroit, MI 48235
CD 1
Mondale

Mr. W. Paul Mahue
950 Dunham, S.E.
Grand Rapids, MI 49507
CD 5
Jackson

Mr. Talibdeen Abdul Muqsit
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Flint, MI 48505
CD 7
Jackson

Ms. Lorraine C. McGee
145 E. Eldridge Avenue
Flint, MI 48505
CD 7
Mondale

Mr. Lorenzo A. Moner, Jr.
27215 Colgate Avenue
Inkster, MI 48141
CD 17
Mondale

Mr. Robert G. Newby
62 East Iroquois Road
Pontiac, MI 48053
CD 6
Jackson

Mr. Michael D. Patterson
1455 Prest
Detroit MI 48227
At-large
Hart

Mr. Herman L. Samuel
5847 Belvidere
Detroit, MI 48213
CD 13
Mondale

Ms. Bernice Shields
19941 Briarcliff
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CD 1
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Party or Elected Official
Mondale

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CD 13
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Detroit, MI 48207
At-large
Mondale

Ms. Beatrice Williams
DNC Member
204 W. McClellan
Flint, MI 48505
Party or Elected Official
Mondale

Hon. Coleman A. Young
Mayor of Detroit
9240 Dwight
Detroit, MI 48214
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

ALTERNATES

Hon. Lawrence Crawford
Mayor
City Hall
315 S. Washington
Saginaw, MI 48601
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Ms. Hildred J. Drew
18034 Indian
Detroit, MI 48221
At-large
Mondale

Ms. Grace Hampton
27135 Yale
Inkster, MI 48141
CD 17
Mondale

Ms. Gwendolyn Z. Hankins
4831 Fullerton
Detroit, MI 48238
At-large
Hart

Mr. Cottrell Johnson
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CD 13
Jackson

Ms. Stevetta Johnson
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Detroit, MI 48238
At-large
Mondale

Mr. Nabil Leach
19351 Burgess
Detroit, MI 48219
CD 17
Hart

Ms. Lucy Morrissey Northrup
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Flint, MI 48504
CD 7
Mondale

Ms. Mary Lou Parks
11744 Wade
Detroit, MI 48213
CD 13
Mondale

Ms. Annette Rainwater
3776 Leslie
Detroit, MI 48238
CD 1
Jackson

Ms. Virgie M. Rollins
15452 Ardmore
Detroit, MI 48227
CD 1
Mondale

Hon. James A. Sharp, Jr.
Mayor
2410 Hills
Flint, MI 48503
Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Mr. Nathaniel Smith
7334 Burnette
Detroit, MI 48210
CD 1
Mondale

MINNESOTA

DELEGATES

Hon. Sharon Sayles Belton
City Council Member
3848 Oakland Ave., S.
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Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Mr. Maurice Britts
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Unpledged

Mr. Henry L. Martin
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At-Large
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Mr. Robert Murray
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ALTERNATES

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CD 5
Uncommitted

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2501 Fourth Avenue, N.
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MISSISSIPPI

DELEGATES

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Jackson, MS 39213
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Jackson

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ALTERNATES

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Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

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208 Orlardo
Greenville, MS 38701
CD 2
Jackson

MISSOURI

DELEGATES

Hon. J. B. Banks
State Senator
1442a N. Grand
St. Louis, MO 63106
Party or Elected Official
Jackson

Mr. Lucius Barker
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Hon. John Bass
State Senator
4936 Maffitt
St. Louis, MO 63115
At-large
Uncommittee

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State Committee Member
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St. Louis, MO 63106
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Jackson

Hon. William Clay
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Unpledged

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Uncommitted

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Jackson

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CD 5
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Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

ALTERNATES

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6135 Indiana
Kansas City, MO 64130
CD 5
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At-large
Uncommitted

NEBRASKA

DELEGATES

Mr. Fred Conley
City Council Member
3354 N. 37th Street
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Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Ms. Eva Lois Haywood
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CD 2
Hart

NEVADA

DELEGATES

Hon. Joe Neal
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Hart

ALTERNATES

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CD 1
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NEW HAMPSHIRE

DELEGATES

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CD 1
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NEW JERSEY

DELEGATES

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D 13
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D 17
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Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Ms. Geraldine R. Fudge
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Mondale

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D 18
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Hon. Kenneth A. Gibson
Mayor
920 Broad St., Rm. 200
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Party or Elected Official
Unpledged

Ms. Carole A. Graves
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At-large
Mondale

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Mondale

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D 13
Jackson

Mr. Robert D. Jackson
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Montclair, NJ 07042
At-large
Mondale

Ms. Ruby J. Jones
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Jersey City, NJ 07302
D 16
Mondale

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D 6
Mondale

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At-large
Mondale

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D 2
Mondale

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Newark, NJ 07103
D 13
Jackson

Mr. Melvin R. Primas
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Camden, NJ 08103
Party or Elected Official
Mondale

Mr. Jeffrey E. Ramsey
185 Eastbrook La.
Willingboro, NJ 08046
D 4
Mondale

Mr. Henry Stevens
2914 Berkley St.
Camden, NJ 08105
D 3
Mondale

Mr. Issac Thomas, Jr.
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D 13
Jackson

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Lawrenceville, NJ 08648
D 8
Mondale

ALTERNATES

Ms. Claire Garner
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Unpledged

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At-large
Mondale

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289 Mt. Hope Ave., Apt. A-23
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At-large
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At-large
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Ms. Shirley Rutherford
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Jackson

NEW MEXICO

ALTERNATES

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NEW YORK

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Table 1. Black delegate representation at Democratic National Conventions, by state, 1972-1984.

State	Total delegates, 1984	Black percent of population, 1980	Black delegates							
			1984		1980		1976		1972	
			#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Alabama	62	25.6	23	37.1	17	37.7	6	17.1	10	27.0
Alaska	14	3.4	3	21.4	0	0.0	1	6.3	1	5.0
Arizona	40	2.8	2	5.0	3	10.3	1	4.0	2	8.0
Arkansas	42	16.3	15	35.7	7	21.2	2	7.7	5	18.5
California	345	7.7	48	13.9	38	12.4	33	11.8	51	18.8
Colorado	51	3.5	5	9.8	2	5.0	4	11.4	5	13.8
Connecticut	60	7.0	7	11.7	6	11.1	3	5.9	4	7.8
Delaware	18	16.1	3	16.7	2	14.2	0	0.0	3	15.0
District of Columbia	19	70.3	16	84.2	12	63.1	8	47.1	14	70.0
Florida	143	13.8	20	14.0	18	18.0	4	4.9	10	12.3
Georgia	84	26.8	32	38.1	14	22.2	13	26.0	16	30.1
Hawaii	27	1.8	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Idaho	22	0.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	6.3	2	10.0
Illinois	194	14.7	39	20.1	28	15.6	21	12.4	17	10.0
Indiana	88	7.6	14	15.9	9	11.2	7	9.3	11	14.4
Iowa	58	1.4	4	6.9	4	8.0	2	4.3	3	6.5
Kansas	44	5.3	5	11.4	2	5.4	1	2.9	4	11.4
Kentucky	63	7.1	6	9.5	2	4.0	2	4.4	5	10.6
Louisiana	69	29.4	29	42.0	19	37.2	6	14.6	19	43.2
Maine	27	0.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Maryland	74	22.7	24	32.4	12	20.3	11	20.8	7	13.2
Massachusetts	116	3.9	5	4.3	6	5.4	4	3.9	12	11.8
Michigan	155	12.9	41	26.5	28	19.8	28	21.1	27	20.5
Minnesota	86	1.3	4	4.7	5	6.6	4	6.2	6	9.4
Mississippi	43	35.2	16	37.2	11	34.3	8	33.3	14	56.0

Missouri	86	10.5	12	14.0	10	12.9	9	12.7	9	12.3
Montana	25	0.2	0	0.0	0	0.0	N.A.	N.A.	1	5.0
Nebraska	30	3.1	2	6.7	2	8.3	1	4.4	1	4.2
Nevada	20	6.4	1	5.0	1	8.3	2	12.5	2	10.0
New Hampshire	22	0.4	1	4.5	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
New Jersey	122	12.6	21	17.2	20	17.6	9	8.3	17	15.6
New Mexico	28	1.8	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	5.0
New York	285	13.7	54	18.9	48	17.0	25	9.1	35	12.6
North Carolina	88	22.4	27	30.7	16	23.1	9	14.8	13	20.3
North Dakota	18	0.4	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	5.0
Ohio	175	10.0	29	16.6	23	14.2	27	17.8	27	17.6
Oklahoma	53	6.8	5	9.4	6	14.2	4	10.8	3	7.7
Oregon	50	1.4	3	6.0	1	2.5	0	0.0	2	5.9
Pennsylvania	195	8.8	36	18.5	21	11.3	18	10.1	19	10.4
Rhode Island	27	2.9	1	3.7	0	0.0	1	4.6	2	9.1
South Carolina	48	30.4	22	45.8	16	43.2	7	22.6	11	34.4
South Dakota	19	0.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	5.9	0	0.0
Tennessee	76	15.8	21	27.6	9	16.3	8	17.4	16	32.7
Texas	200	12.0	45	22.5	24	15.7	16	12.3	13	10.0
Utah	27	0.6	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Vermont	17	0.2	1	5.9	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	5.0
Virginia	78	18.9	32	41.0	17	26.5	9	16.7	15	28.3
Washington	70	2.6	10	14.3	10	17.2	2	3.8	3	5.8
West Virginia	44	3.3	2	4.5	1	2.8	1	3.0	0	0.0
Wisconsin	89	3.9	7	7.9	8	10.6	3	4.4	5	7.5
Wyoming	15	0.7	0	0.0	1	9.0	0	0.0	1	5.0
American Samoa	6	N.A.	0	0.0	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
Guam	7	N.A.	0	0.0	0	0.0	N.A.	N.A.	0	0.0
Puerto Rico	53	N.A.	0	0.0	0	0.0	N.A.	N.A.	0	0.0
Virgin Islands	6	N.A.	4*	66.7	2	50.0	0	0.0	4	66.7
Latin America	5	N.A.	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Democrats Abroad	5	N.A.	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
TOTALS	3,933	11.7	697	17.7	481	14.4	332	10.7	450	14.9

Source: Joint Center for Political Studies.

N.A. Not Available

Note: In 1972 and 1976, the total number of Democratic delegates was 3,106 in 1972, 3,008 in 1976, and 3,331 in 1930.

* Two of these delegates have a full vote apiece and two have three-fifths of a vote apiece.

Table 2. Black Delegates at Democratic National Conventions, 1932-1980

Election year	Total number delegates	Number black delegates	% Black delegates to total	Black alternates
1932	1,154	0	--	10
1936	1,204	12	0.1	18
1940	1,094	7	0.6	18
1944	1,176	11	0.9	13
1948	1,234	17	1.3	*
1952	1,230	33	2.6	*
1956	1,372	24	1.7	21
1960	1,521	46	3.0	37
1964	2,316	65	2.8	55
1968	3,084	209	6.7	173
1972	3,103	452	14.6	*
1976	3,048	323	10.6	170
1980	3,331	481	14.4	297
1984	3,933	697	17.7	225

Source: Joint Center for Political Studies.

Note: Definitive data on black delegates to Democratic Conventions are not available. These figures were compiled from a variety of sources.

* Alternates not specified.

Table 3. Black Voter Registration, 1982

Rank by number of unregistered blacks	State	Unregistered black voting-age population	Registered black voting-age population	Total black voting-age population**	Percentage of voting-age blacks registered	Reagan victory margin, 1980
1	New York*	894,000	737,000	1,631,000	45.2	165,459
2	Texas	520,000	678,000	1,198,000	56.6	629,558
3	North Carolina*	506,000	391,000	897,000	43.6	39,383
4	Georgia	472,000	510,000	982,000	51.9	-236,787
5	California	462,000	836,000	1,298,000	64.4	1,441,183
6	Florida	459,000	464,000	923,000	50.3	627,476
7	Virginia*	331,000	383,000	714,000	53.6	237,435
8	Pennsylvania	294,000	426,000	720,000	59.2	324,332
9	South Carolina*	292,000	333,000	625,000	53.3	11,456
10	Alabama*	272,000	372,000	644,000	57.7	17,462
11	Illinois	257,000	819,000	1,077,000	76.1	376,681
12	Maryland	256,000	407,000	664,000	61.4	-45,555
13	Louisiana*	256,000	557,000	813,000	68.5	84,400
14	New Jersey	247,000	363,000	610,000	59.5	399,193
15	Ohio	247,000	470,000	717,000	65.6	454,131
16	Michigan	214,000	553,000	767,000	72.1	253,693
17	Tennessee*	158,000	322,000	479,000	67.1	4,710
18	District of Columbia	149,000	171,000	320,000	53.5	-102,611
19	Mississippi*	131,000	410,000	541,000	75.8	11,808
20	Arkansas*	85,000	147,000	233,000	63.3	5,123
21	Indiana	84,000	182,000	265,000	68.5	411,459
22	Missouri	79,000	260,000	339,000	76.7	142,999
23	Connecticut	68,000	75,000	143,000	52.3	135,478
24	Massachusetts*	64,000	86,000	149,000	57.3	2,423
25	Kentucky*	62,000	114,000	176,000	64.9	17,857
26	Oklahoma	56,000	82,000	138,000	59.2	293,544
27	Wisconsin	13,000	97,000	111,000	87.9	107,261

Source: Joint Center for Political Studies.

* In these states, the number of unregistered voting-age blacks in 1982 exceeded the Republican margin of victory in the 1980 presidential election.

** Because all numbers are rounded to the nearest thousand, some numbers in this column do not equal the sum of numbers in the two preceding columns.

Table 4. Top 20 Cities Ranked by Black Voting-Age Population, 1980

City	Black voting-age population	Total voting age population	Black percentage of total
New York, NY	1,202,125	5,306,172	22.7
Chicago, IL	764,574	2,152,196	35.5
Detroit, MI	489,017	838,721	58.3
Philadelphia, PA	433,964	1,251,052	34.7
Los Angeles, CA	352,259	2,221,112	15.9
Washington, D.C.	325,518	494,842	65.8
Baltimore, MD	289,638	574,832	50.4
Houston, TX	285,722	1,142,883	25.0
New Orleans, LA	194,326	397,183	48.9
Memphis, TN	192,587	458,338	42.0
Atlanta, GA	188,504	311,139	60.6
Cleveland, OH	170,302	414,378	41.1
Dallas, TX	167,308	660,286	25.3
St. Louis, MO	134,750	334,649	40.3
Newark, NJ	119,534	217,022	55.1
Oakland, CA	109,032	256,845	42.5
Birmingham, AL	105,536	208,654	50.6
Indianapolis, IN	97,789	500,360	19.5
Jacksonville, FL	87,652	385,339	22.7
Cincinnati, OH	86,203	288,203	29.9

Source: Data from U.S. Bureau of the Census

Table 5. Voter Turnout by Race and Region, 1964-1982

	Congressional elections						Presidential elections			
	1982	1978	1974	1970	1966	1980	1976	1972	1968	1964
United States										
White	49.9%	47.3%	46.3%	56.0%	57.0%	60.9%	60.9%	64.5%	69.1%	70.7%
Black	43.0	37.2	33.8	43.5	41.7	50.5	48.7	52.1	57.6	58.5
Difference	6.9	10.1	12.5	12.5	15.3	10.4	12.2	12.4	11.5	12.2
North and West										
White	53.1	50.0	50.0	59.8	61.7	62.4	62.6	67.5	71.8	74.7
Black	48.5	41.3	37.9	51.4	52.1	52.8	52.2	56.7	64.8	72.0
Difference	4.6	8.7	12.1	8.4	9.6	9.6	10.4	10.8	7.0	2.7
South										
White	42.9	41.1	37.4	46.4	45.1	57.4	57.1	57.0	61.9	59.6
Black	38.3	33.5	30.0	36.8	32.9	48.2	45.7	47.8	51.6	44.0
Difference	4.6	7.6	7.4	9.6	12.2	9.2	11.4	9.2	10.3	15.5

Source: Data from U.S. Bureau of the Census.

Note: The data here are from Census Bureau post-election surveys, in which samples of the population are asked whether they voted in the last election. Thus, the percentages reflect those who reported voting; these percentages are usually higher than the percentages of people who actually voted.

Table 6. Reported Black Voter Registration and Turnout by Age and Sex, 1980

	Reported Registered %	Reported Voted %	Voting Age Population (Thousands)	Unregistered Population (Thousands)
Male	57.2	47.5	7,299	3,123
18 to 20 years	35.6	25.9	748	482
21 to 24 years	42.8	30.9	854	488
25 tp 34 years	53.4	43.8	1,749	814
35 to 44 years	63.4	54.1	1,192	436
45 to 54 years	62.8	54.2	1,064	396
55 to 64 years	68.7	60.1	847	265
65 to 74 years	72.2	63.2	577	161
75 years and over	69.6	54.6	267	81
Female	62.2	52.8	9,124	3,451
18 to 20 years	35.2	24.7	851	551
21 to 24 years	48.7	36.5	1,106	567
25 to 34 years	59.1	49.8	2,207	903
35 to 44 years	70.5	62.6	1,517	447
45 to 54 years	71.2	62.4	1,236	357
55 to 64 years	74.6	68.0	1,013	257
65 to 74 years	75.0	66.1	774	194
75 years and over	58.2	44.7	420	175

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census